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culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement.

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated.

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[3] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,' had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

[3] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e, tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e, faia'u* or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called *ahu* (pile or mound).

The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

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The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not *a fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[31]

[31] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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larger than six chestnuts together: a good deal of that was eaten, roast and boiled; and some nuts with a very hard shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten; some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water; it comes out of a rock, at the height of two men; its volume may be of the thickness of four or five fingers; and then, close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them; but they never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity to learn more, the matter remained thus; but in my opinion, this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other matters do not show that these people had come there from any great distance.

This port is in 9½° S. latitude. The Commander-in-Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail, making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400 leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not go close to them. This year all seemed timid: I say this with rage. They are in 10¾° latitude, and were named

[pp. 153-end not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

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These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days. 757

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175